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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual.

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *sisaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family.

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them.

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect:

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men.

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ălukwala* or an *ăskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntám* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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*533
756

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ălkuz(yuxtem, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ănuxkhomakhuxkhkv	*ciyumuxeyo·uy"uk!*	*duxuxpuiskuxulin*	*ĭăkuxiuxdai*
Laughed	*Sonq"*(*b*)	when they(*c*)started	*my rite as shaman*(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Kaiuxukuluc
See how wretched I am(*c*).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(*b*) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(*c*) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(*d*) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(*e*) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kuziyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ănuxkhila	*Ănuxkhila*	*dimănĭxudai*	*xuxi*
The sun(*b*),	the sun,	is our father	(*c*)!

The rest of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821]
[796]
[788]

(*b*) That is the sun's name as chief.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(*d*) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kuziyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Tlitsplitsa*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snăyom*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state